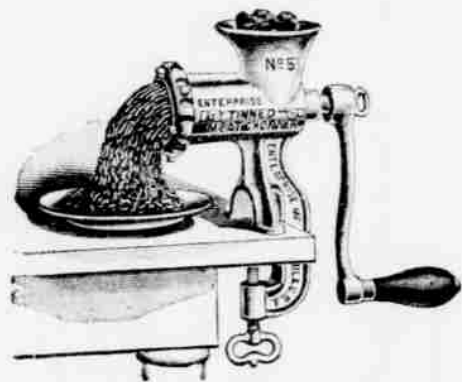


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KING AND ALAKEA STREETS.**DR. SCUDDER REPLIES TO
CRITICISMS OF W. R. CASTLE****Defends His Assertion That Native Hawaiians
Have Been Given Franchise Without
Precautionary Restrictions.**

A communication to the Boston Transcript from Doctor Scudder, of Honolulu, appears in the issue of December 3, in answer to an interview given the Boston publication by W. R. Castle. Some weeks ago The Advertiser published a brief report of Doctor Scudder's address before the American Missionary Association, in which he was quoted as saying that the franchise had been given to the native Hawaiians without being properly safeguarded. This was followed by an interview with Mr. Castle, also taken from the Transcript, in which Mr. Castle took exception to Doctor Scudder's remarks. Now, in response, Doctor Scudder writes:

Reply to W. R. Castle.

To the Editor of the Transcript: Our local daily, The Advertiser, this morning printed the account of an interview published in a recent Transcript which contained criticisms by my good friend Hon. W. R. Castle upon some statements made by me in an address delivered before the American Missionary Association in Tremont Temple last October. The offhand nature of an interview doubtless accounts for some of his unguarded expressions; hence what would be my surprise at these statements of Mr. Castle is considerably mitigated.

Mr. Castle did not hear my address or he could not have criticized it as he did, and indeed he seems not to have read carefully your brief report of it. I made no statement that would give any color to the inference that the franchise had not been granted to the Hawaiian people by rulers of their own race. On the contrary, the crux of my argument on this head was that those rulers had safeguarded by wise restrictions this gift and that congress had been urged by its commissioners, Senators Cullom and Morgan, Representative Hitt, President Dole and Chief Justice Frear of the Republic of Hawaii, to take the same safe course, but that it refused to do so.

The Limited Franchise.

In 1840 Kamehameha III, instituted a legislature of one chamber, composed of fifteen hereditary nobles named by himself and seven representatives chosen in informal manner by the people. In 1852 a more carefully drawn constitution, in which the hand of his missionary advisers was unhidden, ordained a two-chambered legislature of not more than thirty nobles, chosen for life by the king, and twenty-four to forty representatives elected by manhood suffrage. The ballot here was restricted by shutting off all the people except the king from any share in the selection of the members of the upper house.

In practice it was found that all the people were not ready for the privilege of electing representatives, and in 1864 Kamehameha promulgated a new constitution which substituted a legislature of one chamber with not more than twenty nobles appointed by the king and with from twenty-four to forty representatives. Only persons with a certain amount of property were to be eligible to election as representatives and the electors were required both to be able to read and write and to possess a small amount of property. The king well knew that what the Hawaiian most needed was some incentive to industry and thrift. This constitution permitted the property qualifications to be increased but not diminished.

In 1887 a revolution, engineered by the whites, reestablished a two-chambered legislature of elective nobles and representatives with property qualifications for eligibility. Electors of nobles were required to own considerable property, but this restriction did not apply to citizens voting for members of the lower house.

Restrictions Under Republic.

In 1894 the republic in its senate and house each of fifteen members and in the electorate maintained like conditions. Thus throughout Hawaii's history the franchise was hedged about with restrictions, and after experiment lasting twenty-four years it was found necessary by the Hawaiian king, Kamehameha V., to impose educational and property qualifications that still further limited the right to vote.

With compulsory education and the school habit developed through several generations there was no special danger of illiteracy among Hawaiians, hence the relative unimportance of the educational qualification (continuously required since 1864), which was wisely retained after annexation.

Where Congress Erred.

Where congress wronged the native was in abolishing the property qualification, or in words of my address in giving "the franchise to the Hawaiians without safeguarding conditions," and in thus laying emphasis upon the ballot as a manhood right instead of a privilege to be earned by a certain amount of character development. Not that money is to be made the measure of character by any means, but, as Booker Washington is so wisely teaching his race, thrift is a most important element in training manhood, and far more important here even than in a rugged climate.

The immediate outcome of our national policy was to put the Hawaiian race in nominal possession of a highly organized government which it was entirely unfitted by character or intellectual development to administer. The Hawaiians never had administered constitutional government because their chiefs and kings had suffered themselves, or since 1887, had been com-

pelled to be guided by whites. The only persons competent to direct affairs here were the white people. In order to govern the territory therefore after annexation the natives had to be managed. The easiest way to direct them was to control elections and that was best done by a "wise" use of money.

Consequences of the Error.

The consequence is that it would be hard to find in America a more debauched electorate than here. In the recent plebiscite the highest representatives of Hawaiian manhood, anxious to carry the Territory for prohibition because of their devotion to their race, demanded a sum of money that fairly took their breath away. It was decided then and there that this side of the campaign should be run honestly. I doubt whether since annexation a squarer contest has been conducted here. It spelled defeat of course.

Cost of an Election.

Mr. Herbert Parsons in a recent Outlook concluded that the legitimate expense of a campaign in New York county should run from a minimum of \$120,000 to \$208,000. Take the larger sum and double it for the two great parties. This gives \$416,000 honestly to run a campaign in a community of 345,687 voters—the total vote of New York county in 1908—according to the World Almanac, a per capita cost of \$1.20, or sixty cents for each party. Last July 9773 votes were cast in our plebiscite. The liquor men, according to a very conservative estimate spent over \$50,000 to carry it. Cut this estimate down to between \$39,000 and \$49,000, a sum which one of their number has admitted was expended by them, and that is more than \$4 for every voter participating. At the recent November election it cost the two parties according to an uncontradicted published estimate, upwards of \$65,000 to finance the campaign. This divided by the total vote for delegate gives about \$5 per capita. At this rate an election in New York county would cost the two leading parties more than one million seven hundred thousand dollars.

Even the best Hawaiians have been trained to regard an election as an opportunity for graft, and congress by refusing to make the franchise here an incentive to character building, or, in other words, by giving the franchise a money value, instead of a character value, has debauched the entire people. It should be clearly borne in mind that the fault for the state of things here is with congress, and not with the white or the native in Hawaii.

Changed Views.

I came to this Territory with the stereotyped New Englander's a priori notion of the right of a man to the ballot, but the sad spectacle both of what every election and of what the conduct of our government here teach has finally though slowly wrought a cure. Mr. Castle implies that I advocated in my address that the Hawaiian should be deprived of the franchise. There was not the slightest foundation for such an inference in my remarks. The question of remedying a wrong is very different from preventing it. Just what remedial measures are called for here demands a consultation of very wise and experienced civic doctors.

Tuberculosis.

After dismissing the large question of the drink evil in a sentence or two, Mr. Castle remarked that tuberculosis was brought to the Islands by Chinese and Japanese. In justice he should have added "and Americans." Hawaii was sought as a sanatorium by not a few consumptives of our own race. Poor Asia has enough sins of her own to bear not to be made to carry some of ours.

Hawaiians Decreasing.

One more statement in his interview deserves notice. Mr. Castle is quoted as saying: "I have failed to find any signs of decrease among the native population recently. They have been decreasing for years, but the ratio of decrease has been growing less every year for the past twenty-five, and has now practically ceased." Such a statement can only be accounted for on the supposition that Mr. Castle classes among the natives the part Hawaiians. If he did this, it was entirely gratuitous, because the remarks to which he objected had no reference to the mixed race. This is a distinct stock of group of stocks, with characteristics and degree of resistance power to disease and drink absolutely different from those of the pure Hawaiians. The mixed race is rapidly increasing, and has been doing so from the beginning. For me to have included them in any statement concerning gradual extinction would have been untrue and impossible. The figures of the recent census have just been issued, and show how sinister the record of the past ten years has been. The subjoined table of population and rate of decrease among Hawaiians tells its own story. It is taken from official census:

1890.....	34,436	5,579	.139	.023
1896.....	31,019	3,417	.099	.016
1900.....	29,787	1,232	*.040	*.010
1904.....	26,099	3,688	.123	.012

Nearly.

The Hawaiian census periods were sexennial, giving one interim quadrennial period before the United States census of 1900. This table shows that from 1890 to 1900, the year of complete annexation, the decrease steadily lessened, reaching finally a shade less than an average of one per cent per year. But during the past decade under the regime of the organic act the ratio has risen to one and two-tenths per cent annually. Under the wise, efficient, kindly and honest rule of the republic the Hawaiians survived more than at any time since discovered by Captain Cook. Did the era of large liquor consumption inaugurated by Uncle Sam

have anything to do with the sad story of the past decade's augmented decrease of the Hawaiian race? If so, ought congress to help save the Hawaiians by doing for them what the liquor interests' money would not let them do for themselves last summer? This is another story about which I should be very glad to write if desired.
DOREMUS SCUDDER.
Honolulu, November 16.

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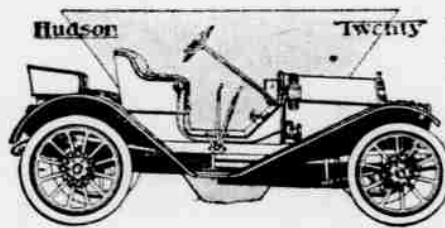
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